HUMAN EVENTS

Vol. XV, No. 26 Monday, June 30, 1958 Washington, D. C.

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White House Affair: News of one highly sensational act, in the moving drama of the Sherman Adams affair, has reached the ears of a few congressional leaders in the past 48 hours, and is inspiring GOP conservatives to rise above a situation which a week ago seemed to promise inexorable disaster for the Republican party.

Vice President Nixon — HUMAN EVENTS exclusively reports — went to President Eisenhower when the revelations of Adams' relations with Goldfine first broke and strongly urged the President to fire Adams. "Ask Sherman to resign," was the tactful way Nixon reportedly put it. Ike agreed that he would have to make the request. But the President — after what is described as a "rather emotional" conference with Adams — changed his mind and emerged saying that Adams was going to stay on, because "I need him."

(The "I need him" line, say members of Congress, has been badly received throughout the country. The Eisenhower stock descends daily in the market place of public opinion.)

However, the Nixon episode does provide food for optimism. The fact that the looming GOP candidate for 1960 made an attempt to clear the party's record, well in advance of this year's crucial elections, is taken as a good sign by conservatives who have begun a counterattack against the Democratic record. *(See the special feature, "The Truman Scandals vs. The Eisenhower Scandals," on page 4 of this News Section.)*

Meanwhile, as GOP legislators, one after another, call for Adams' resignation, morale rises among independent Senators and Representatives who have never "ridden Ike's coattails." They are convinced that they must repudiate Modern Republicanism, hew to their own independent record of voting and cut themselves adrift from the liability of the White House. "We'll go it alone and, despite losses next fall, we'll be in a better condition to win in 1960" — such is the formulation common to this wing of the party.

● Nor is the revolt confined to "Old Guard" elements. Former Governor Thomas E. Dewey — the man who insured Eisenhower's 1952 nomination — has now turned against Ike and especially against Adams. So report friends who have talked to Dewey recently.

The ex-Governor is said to have revealed a startling fact: Sherman Adams prevented him from becoming the GOP nominee for Senator from New York in the summer of 1956. The story runs as follows: Dewey, just before the New York GOP nominating convention of July, 1956, decided that he would run for the Senatorial post. He wanted to prevent the nomination of Javits, whom he allegedly dislikes as "too far to the left." Dewey phoned the White House and asked that Ike be requested to clear the matter and give his blessing to the Dewey bid. Two days went by and no word came to Dewey from Washington, as the New York convention assembled. In disgust, Dewey took himself out of the race.

Now, the report has it, Dewey names the man with whom he talked — Sherman Adams. Dewey blames Adams for failing to get Ike's blessing for him as candidate for the Senate, claims that Adams double-crossed him by backing Javits.

Republican politicos, hearing this tale about Adams, offer the comment: "We knew he was Machiavelli; now we know he is Rasputin as well."

● As Washington insiders now see it, the line-up on the White House crisis stands like this: all conservative and some "middle-of-the-road" elements are demanding the ouster of Adams at the earliest possible date, to save Republicans in the up-coming elections. On the other side, the last-ditch "liberals," headed by Adams, hold out. Behind the scenes, the "kitchen cabinet" — Milton Eisenhower, Paul Hoffman, *et al.* — support Adams, want to keep him in, although his retention means severe losses in the elections. If a foreign crisis occurs, and a war scare looms (as now seems conceivable), public wrath against Adams will be diverted — so thinks the cabal in the White House.

That, of course, is the strategy (as HUMAN EVENTS pointed out in its issue of April 21, 1958) of the GOP "liberals": to dominate the GOP after a big defeat in November and to prepare the way for a more "liberal" candidate to challenge Nixon for the crown in 1960. And they even talk of Chief Justice Warren as their favorite.

Does this outline of events to come signify inevitable Democratic victory in 1960? Not necessarily, it is believed; for independent forces are stirring not only among the Republicans, but in the Democratic party as well.

Division Among Democrats: A shadow falls across the political power of Walter Reuther and his puppet Democratic Governor, "Soapy" Williams of Michigan. Little

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publicized outside of Michigan is the news that a slate of "dissident" Democrats has filed for the Democratic primary to be held August 5. These Democrats, to the right of Reuther, are in revolt against the well-heeled and tightly organized Reuther-Williams machine.

They include former Congressman Frank Hook, of a Northern Michigan district, who was steamrollered out of political life a few years ago by the Reuther machine. With rising discontent among party people against Reuther, Hook hopes to stage a comeback in his district. Also, a kindred spirit to Hook, William L. Johnson, radio-station owner in Hook's area, has filed for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, opposing Soapy Williams. Finally, Homer Martin — old foe of Reuther in union ranks, and recently a farm organization representative — has filed for the Democratic nomination to the Senate.

It is not considered likely that this slate can win at the primaries. However, since the Michigan primaries are "open," Republicans can "cross the line" and vote in the Democratic primaries for the "dissidents." If they do so in sufficient numbers, an impressive vote may be piled up against the Reuther-Williams slate. Then the dissident Democrats — so it is argued — could build for a real fight for control in 1960.

● In Wisconsin, too, dissident Democrats rise, presenting an even greater threat to the "liberal" Democrat leadership. Left-wing Democrats in that state, headed by Senator Proxmire, forced through the election of a Negro, a newcomer to the state, as committeewoman, over the opposition of long-time Democratic party workers backing a veteran candidate with a record of 28 years of hard work for the local party. Result: several resignations from party officialdom in protest and the announcement — also in protest — that Proxmire's former county campaign chairman, Harry Holloway, will run for the Senatorial nomination against the freshman Senator.

GOP circles rejoice, and predict that this split will insure the victory of their Senatorial candidate, Judge Roland Steinle, who promises to wage a vigorous fighting campaign with a united Republican party behind him.

● Finally, the basic — and perhaps fatal — rift in the Democratic party over "civil rights" grows as the weeks go by. Judge Lemley's historic decision decreeing a two-and-one-half-year delay in Little Rock school desegregation has given enormous impetus to all the South in its "integration" fight with the Supreme Court.

Reports from Little Rock say that "liberal" Winthrop Rockefeller (head of a big Rockefeller project in Arkansas) has now become convinced of the necessity of a break in the integration process, and is privately backing Governor Faubus in his campaign for re-election, as the best possible compromise.

And reports from Louisville, Kentucky, say that Governor Happy Chandler, convinced of the rise of the states' rights Democrats, now is holding secret meetings with prominent Southern Democratic figures.

Ohio Right to Work: Labor bosses were confident that the current attempt to put a "right-to-work" amendment to the Ohio constitution on the November ballot was a futile one. Then an independent research poll indicated that the move would succeed by a five-to-three margin, and the bosses began to use their well-known methods of intimidation and coercion to forestall the right-to-work drive.

To get the amendment on the ballot, petitions must be secured bearing the signatures of ten per cent (356,000) of the number who voted for Governor at the last election. To offset invalid signatures, an extra 100,000 names are usually needed.

Before a circulator can be given a petition, his name must be filed with the Secretary of State. The AFL-CIO made daily inspections of the names listed and immediately contacted local labor unions. These groups forthwith warned merchants listed as circulators that they would "get no more business from union members." Insurance agents got policy cancellations. Retired men and women who could not be reached by other threats received anonymous phone calls asking whether they would like to be mugged or have their homes blown up.

Many of the 16,000 who had enthusiastically volunteered, thinking they were exercising a free American right, quit. The drive to get sufficient signatures bogged down until the school year ended. Then hundreds of college students — their idealism challenged by the campaign of terror — volunteered for the job.

Now it looks as if the proposal will get on the ballot. If it does, however, it is clear that the union heat will really be turned on. Employers have been warned that they will face slowdowns and sitdowns if they participate financially or personally in the November drive. (The drive for the right to work in Ohio was initiated by the Ohio Labor Committee of Toledo—a group composed of card-carrying unionists in revolt against the labor bosses.)

Wages of Foreign Aid: HUMAN EVENTS disclosed, in its issue of June 9, 1958, that Robert R. Nathan, former New Deal figure who has lectured valiantly for aid to "underdeveloped countries," seems to have had some rather personal reasons to embolden his stand — since he is the registered agent of a foreign government. Bringing that item up to date, HUMAN EVENTS relays the news of Nathan's most recent earnings in this capacity. According to the Attorney General's report to Congress on the administration of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, Robert R. Nathan Associates, Inc., representing the Government of the Union of Burma, received, for the 1957 calendar year, $302,844.16. (See article, "There's No Business Like Show Business," by Frank C. Hanighen, in HUMAN EVENTS for June 2, 1958.)

Brussels Fair: The Capital continues to rock with the protests of indignant Americans returning from the Brussels Fair, where they have surveyed the "flop" US entry in the

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international propaganda competition. A group of Congressmen last week raised the roof over a Fair exhibit entitled "Unfinished Work," which highlights racial problems, US slums, *etc.* Representative William Ayres (R.-Ohio) said the exhibit invited Red propaganda assaults, and Representative Prince Preston (D.-Ga.) blasted its integrationist overtones.

● Meanwhile, private citizens who have toured the Fair also express their dismay at the "hodgepodge" with which US bureaucrats have stocked the American pavilion. A HUMAN EVENTS source newly returned from Belgium gives this summary of the Fair:

The most striking aspect is the almost total absence of industrial exhibits. There is nothing to represent the manner in which American families live. Nothing on religion. Nothing, apart from an exhibit on the atom, stresses the vistas opening to Americans in practically every field; for instance, a kitchen display — far from "looking to the future" — is a year old. There is no modern US car to contrast with a 1903 Model-T on display. (The Russians have capped our Model-T by featuring a "new" Soviet car of obsolete American design.) It is impossible to know where things are in the US exhibit; personnel there seem unhelpful, waiting to be approached by visitors. The displays are incongruous, often unexplained or placed in unlikely spots (the Wall Street exhibit is in an out-of-the-way cubbyhole; a large barrel contains a picture of Rockefeller Center; a display on atomic fission is so set up that a layman has considerable difficulty in knowing what it is). There is nothing in the exhibit on great moments in US history (*e.g.*, Washington at Valley Forge), nothing on aviation, nothing on our military strength. One of the most dismal exhibits is that on art; one painting, a black canvas with white wisps on it (entitled "Eclipse"), excited derisive laughter from French children.

In contrast to the ineffectual US display, the Soviet exhibit seeks to put over the idea that the USSR is an industrial and military powerhouse. It is crammed with artillery, models of earth satellites, industrial machinery.

Returning from a flying visit to the Fair last week, USIA director George V. Allen got off the quote — and the understatement — of the week. "I think our exhibitors showed a very nice delicate touch," he said, "in playing down our industrial might." (See HUMAN EVENTS news item for June 23, 1958, and article, "Bureaucrats and the Brussels Fair," April 14, 1958.)

Fort Monmouth: In keeping with the recent Supreme Court rulings on internal security, the US Court of Appeals held last week that six employees of the Army Signal Corps at Fort Monmouth, N. J., fired as security risks in 1954 following the McCarthy investigations, were entitled to get their jobs back. Because of this ruling the left-wing Washington *Post* exulted that the "havoc" created by Senator McCarthy's efforts to expose subversion at Fort Monmouth had "at last been repaired."

Despite such "liberal" hosannas, some stubborn facts remain in the record. Former Soviet agent E. Andriyve, for example, two years ago told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of the "thousands" of documents that came to him, in the 1940's, bearing the "trademark" of Fort Monmouth. The documents, he said, were "fresh," and came in a steady flow from the Signal Corps center. Most of them had pictures of equipment. Andriyve described some of the extremely valuable data culled from the Fort Monmouth papers, mentioning one item relative to a highly technical radar system. "At that time [in Russia]," he testified, "it looked like a curiosity to us, but now it is quite commonly used here and there." The witness added that the "vast majority" of the documents were classified, bearing the designations "secret," "top secret," or "confidential."

World Council of Churches: Deemed highly significant was the forthright utterance last week of Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the *Christian Herald* and one of America's most respected clergymen. Poling spoke with ardor against the treachery of the Soviet Union, as manifest in its murder of Hungarians Imre Nagy and Pal Maleter; and he had harsh words, as well, for the appeasers of the West.

"The free world," Poling said, "voices its horror — but what of that? We go on with our conferences. At least I may speak once more for these silent ones." (Poling is active in work on behalf of the enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe, as a sponsor of the American Friends of the Captive Nations.)

The Protestant clergyman also turned his fire on the World Council of Churches, which includes on its ruling board Dr. Josef L. Hromadka, a Red Czechoslovakian puppet. Hromadka, said Poling, "twice recipient of the Stalin peace prize, who spoke out with incredible words in support of Russia's ruthless tank invasion of Hungary, continues on the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches. He was re-elected in the midsummer of 1957. The vote on the election of the slate of twelve, which included his name, was 26 for, 7 against, 64 abstentions."

"What remains of honor," Poling concluded, "to us of America and to the World Council of Churches?"

(For the background on Hromadka and an attempt made last year by the American Council of Churches to protest his acceptance by American clergy, see HUMAN EVENTS for August 3, 1957.)

JAY N. DARLING, syndicated Pulitzer prize-winning cartoonist of the Des Moines Register: "I got my introduction to HUMAN EVENTS in an unusual way. Requiring the services of a doctor last winter in St. Petersburg, Fla., I went to Dr. Robert Needles, heart specialist. To reach the patients' waiting room, it was necessary to pass a shoulder-high shelf displaying HUMAN EVENTS. In my several visits, I noticed that visiting patients generally were reading HUMAN EVENTS. Dr. Needles is an extraordinary individual. You couldn't have a better evangelist.

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THE TRUMAN SCANDALS vs. THE EISENHOWER SCANDALS

By Jules Abels
author of *The Truman Scandals* (Regnery; $4)

IT IS APPALLING that news commentators and even a few GOP members of Congress have put the current issue of Sherman Adams and Bernard Goldfine on the same footing as the scandals which took place during the Truman administration. The tendency today, unfortunately, is to treat the corruption of the Truman era as "mink-coat and deep-freeze scandals." But the Truman scandals ran much deeper than this, and there is really no basis for comparison between the issue now in the news and what happened under Truman.

The heart of the Truman story was the scandal of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. The Bureau had been politicalized by Robert E. Hannegan, Truman's sponsor in 1944, who rose from the post of Commissioner of Internal Revenue to the chairmanship of the Democratic party.

There were four top jobs in the Bureau at that time and one related job in the Department of Justice: (1) the Commissioner of Internal Revenue; (2) the Assistant Commissioner of Internal Revenue; (3) the Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue in charge of the Alcohol Tax Unit; (4) the Counsel for the Bureau of Internal Revenue; and (5) the tax prosecutor — *i.e.*, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Tax Division.

What happened to the officials in these five top positions? *The first*, Commissioner Joseph D. Nunan, was convicted of tax fraud. *The second*, Assistant Commissioner Daniel A. Bolich, was convicted of tax fraud. His conviction was reversed by the Supreme Court, only because of the Statute of Limitations. *The third*, Deputy Commissioner Carroll A. Mealey, was indicted for tax fraud, but not tried because of his ill health. *The fourth*, Counsel Charles Oliphant, resigned while under fire for official misconduct. *The fifth*, Assistant Attorney General T. Lamar Caudle, was convicted of tax fraud along with the White House Secretary to President Truman, Matthew Connelly. (These cases are in addition to many others in the Bureau of Internal Revenue, including Collector Denis W. Delaney and Collector James P. Finnegan of St. Louis, Truman's close personal friend.)

By way of contrast, no official of the Eisenhower Administration has been convicted or even indicted for any offense; and indeed there has been no serious talk of even seeking an indictment against anyone.

Commentators equate incidents in the two administrations on the basis of receipt of gifts, comparing a mink coat with a vicuna coat. There were two mink coats in the Truman scandals. One went to the wife of Merl Young. Young, it should be noted, was not an employee of the Government (at the time). He was an influence peddler who was able to operate because he was a close friend of Donald Dawson, a Presidential Assistant who controlled the RFC (Reconstruction Finance Corporation, a government agency) and also of William Boyle, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. The mink coat that went to Young was an insignificant part of what he received.

The Fulbright committee investigation showed that Young received sums of between $100,000 and $200,000 from Colonel Joseph Rosenbaum, a lawyer with whom he had relations in representing RFC clients. According to the testimony, Young asked $85,000 as his fee to represent a client in the Texmass case and Colonel Rosenbaum demanded $100,000 for his services in the Lustron case.

The other mink coat was that received by the wife of T. Lamar Caudle. But the coat was not the reason that Caudle was dismissed from the Federal service He was discharged because he received $5,000 as a commission for the sale of an airplane through a party intimately connected with a tax case. Caudle did some extremely suspicious things in order to help the party involved with the case. The record of criminal and tax cases which Caudle was alleged to have fixed is a formidable one. Many of them were allegedly fixed at the request of the Truman Administration. Caudle was convicted on a charge of trying to get a defendant off in a tax case. He was also alleged by the Government to have received an oil royalty.

GENERAL VAUGHAN, Truman's personal aide, received one of the deep freezes which have become associated in the public mind with the Truman Administration. But the critical points brought out by an examination of the record are the activities of General Vaughan in behalf of his friends, particularly John F. Maragon, who landed in jail. Vaughan arranged ways and means for Maragon and his friends to visit Europe to bring back perfumes at a time in 1945 when businessmen could not make such trips. He bullied Government officials to break a rationing regulation for molasses in behalf of a client of Maragon's, threatening an official (according to the latter's testimony) "that he would get my job." He browbeat the Housing Expediter in violation of building regulations to give materials for constructing a race track to another client of Maragon's, *etc., etc.*

In contrast to the above record of the Truman scandals, the Eisenhower Administration comes off well. Until the Adams and Goldfine cases, the only controversial cases brought up by Democratic critics have involved "conflicts of interest," as in the cases of former Air Secretary Talbott and FCC Commissioner Mack.

The 330-page book, *The Truman Scandals*, by Jules Abels — a complete documentary record of graft and corruption under President Truman — can be obtained from HUMAN EVENTS for the bookstore price of $4.

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HUMAN EVENTS, 408 First St., SE, Washington 3, D. C., is a weekly newsletter reporting from Washington on politics, business, labor and taxes. It was founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen. Published usually in two sections: a 4-page news section and a 4-page article section. Entered as second class matter at Washington, D. C. Copyright 1958.

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Vol. XV, No. 26 HUMAN EVENTS June 30, 1958

Article Section *Printed in Two Sections*

ADA: THE ENEMY WITHIN

How the Left Achieves Its Political Victories

By M. STANTON EVANS

FOR THE PAST decade, an organization calling itself "Americans for Democratic Action" has functioned as the master strategy board in a campaign to impose a program of piecemeal socialism on the United States. ADA was founded in January, 1947 — supposedly for the purpose of combatting the attempts of US Communists to take over the "liberal" movement in America, while simultaneously working to remove from the political scene everyone to the right of Wayne Morse. Today this tightly knit group bids fair to take over the Democratic party, and, through it, the United States Congress.

Over the years, ADA has stood four-square for statism — or "democratic control of economic life," as its ideologues prefer to phrase it. Price controls, wage controls, rent controls — all are standard equipment in ADA's quiver of collectivist proposals; ADA backed the Brannan Plan and opposed Taft-Hartley; it works unflaggingly for Government development of electric power, and seizes every opportunity to promote the growth of the Federal bureaucracy. Appeasement is the keynote of its views on foreign policy. It advocates recognition of Communist China, endless foreign aid, coexistence with the Soviet Union.

On the question of handling domestic communism, ADA again turns up at the left end of the political spectrum — about as far out as one can get without actually being a Communist. Yet ADA has stuck, throughout its existence, to a pose of strong anti-communism. Since it has advocated many policies in common with the Communists — and has even received official Red commendation for its efforts on behalf of "social democracy" — its claim to anti-communism is one of the more grotesque phenomena of current political life.*

ADA seeks to forward "democratic control" and its private brand of "anti-communism" in a number of ways. The one that makes the most noise is the ADA practice of issuing some kind of pronouncement on practically every phase of politics and legislation. These statements are turned out as press releases, pop up as testimony before congressional committees, are declaimed as platform proposals before conventioneering Democrats. They appear in speeches to assemblies of the faithful, and in the columns of the group's house organ, *ADA World.*

THE FLOOD of words should not mislead conservatives into believing that ADA is simply a forum for ivory-tower intellectuals spouting ideas. ADA does not become so wrapped up in its "principles" that it neglects to attend to the realities of political life — a fact made abundantly clear when the group managed to dissolve its hostility to President Truman in time to cash in on his 1948 victory. Intensely interested in grass-roots politicking, ADA has made a point of working hard on behalf of favored candidates at all levels. This effort has been unevenly pursued in various parts of the country, but in some places it seems to have been extremely successful.

Here, for example, is an account of ADA's participation in the 1955 Mayoralty campaign

* A glaring instance of this Alice-in-Wonderland approach to "anti-communism" occurred at an ADA dinner in 1954, when President Truman declared that "you people in the ADA were among the first to recognize the danger of communism here and abroad . . .You saw through the treachery of the Communists . . . You fought them at the polls, in the labor unions and in the traditional American way . . ."

Commented the New York *Journal-American*: "There was a titter at or near the table where sat Libby Holman. Miss Holman fought communism in the traditional American way by throwing a Fourth of July party for Paul Robeson at her Stamford estate in 1949.

"There was another titter at or near the table where sat Ted O. Thackrey, who fought communism in the traditional American way as editor and publisher of *The Daily Compass*, a 'newspaper' that died of galloping anemia in 1952 after vociferously supporting Communist causes."

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in Philadelphia, which saw the election of ADA candidate Richardson Dilworth: "A central headquarters staff with ADA staff members and volunteers recruited by them was set up. In addition, some seven local district offices were established which put hundreds of district workers in the field for the first time. The Independent Committee [the ADA-dominated group that backed Dilworth] worked independently of the regular Democratic organization, but in consultation with that group. The operation which sent Mr. Dilworth to his easy victory was the most professional one attempted thus far in the city where, despite a heavy Republican registration lead, the Democrats have won in three successive elections." (*ADA World,* November, 1955.) Thus, when and where ADA decides to throw its energies into an election, the conservative candidate finds himself fighting not one, but two, disciplined political machines.

The influence exerted by such left-wing elements, submerged in most political campaigns, is openly wielded in New York, where an ADA-type "Liberal party" holds the power of life and death over statewide Democratic candidates. In the 1954 gubernatorial election, for example, Harriman's plurality over Ives was only 11,000 votes. The Liberal party controlled more than 250,000 votes, which went to Harriman. Had the Liberals run their own candidate for Governor, or otherwise withheld any substantial portion of their votes from Harriman, the election would have gone to Ives.

While ADA can command both funds and hard workers in areas where it has managed to build its strength, many candidates have sought to avoid connection with it and the left-wing associations carried by its name. Political hopefuls who have sought to break or avoid open ties to ADA have included Harriman, G. Mennen Williams, former Democratic National Chairman Stephen Mitchell and Adlai Stevenson. The most stunning repudiation ever dealt ADA came from Foster Furcolo, now Democratic Governor of Massachusetts. At ADA's 1953 convention in his state, Furcolo included this statement in his keynote address: "You are undermining or hurting programs which are good for America . . . Whether rightly or wrongly, fairly or unfairly, the fact is that the public is apt to oppose immediately whatever you support . . . Ask any public official or any candidate who [covers] a fairly large area . . . I do not believe you will find even one who will acknowledge you . . . because you no longer enjoy the confidence of the public and no candidate can win without it."

ADA'S PUBLIC reputation may be reduced to absolute zero; nevertheless, by methods discreet if not totally covert, it proceeds busily to forge for us the shackles of collectivism.

The means it employs to this end are essentially three: 1) it acts as a broker between the union bosses and the Democratic party — one of several devices that the labor bosses have hit upon for avoiding the plain intent of the laws governing labor's participation in politics; 2) it furnishes the "brains" that produce the ideas found in "liberal" Democratic speeches, political platforms and legislation ("the conscience of the Democratic party" was the description of ADA offered by one member of the group); and 3) it wields untold influence in the channels through which opinion is shaped and communicated.

Some aspects of ADA's method were canvassed in an article by this writer, appearing in HUMAN EVENTS for October 13, 1956. ADA's formula for success, it was then stated, seemed to add up to this: *the organization is not nearly so interested in selling itself, or its name, as it is in selling its ideas.* This it does with considerable skill, through its acknowledged members and its many kindred spirits in politics, in the press corps and in other positions from which leverage on US policies may be exerted.

ADAers may be few in number (43,000 members are claimed), but they get around. Probably the most influential single ADAer is UAW boss Walter Reuther, who puts in about as much time telling Congress how to legislate as he does managing the affairs of his union — besides wielding a vast power in the states and

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Congressional districts which few legislators can afford to leave out of their political figuring.

Since 1947, Reuther's United Auto Workers' union has pumped over $100,000 of its members' dues into ADA. This transfer of compulsorily collected funds to the most fanatical political-action group in the country is accomplished via something whimsically labelled as ADA's "Non-Political Account."

Another prominent ADAer is Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., past national ADA chairman, who served as counsel to Reuther & Co. when they appeared before the McClellan Committee earlier this year. Rauh also distinguished himself by paying out roughly $8,500 to a confidence man named Paul Hughes, in order to obtain bogus information purportedly incriminating to Senator Joe McCarthy.

Other Rauh achievements include half-a-year's service as a registered agent for the Communist Government of Poland, helping to negotiate a $90 million loan from the US. (Rauh's associate in that negotiation was the law firm of which Dean Acheson is a member. Acheson, then Under Secretary of State on leave of absence from the firm, overruled the recommendations of his State Department subordinates and okayed the $90 million grant.) Rauh's legal clients have included William W. Remington, who was sent to jail for lying about his Communist party membership. Remington had previously been cleared by a Government loyalty board. "This major civil liberties victory," said *ADA World* of the earlier whitewash, "can be credited in large measure to Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. . . ."

IN ADDITION to its labor boss members and such professional spokesmen as Rauh, ADA lays claim to a large number of "intellectuals," newspapermen and politicians. Most celebrated member of ADA's stable of double-domes is Harvard historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who, like Rauh, has managed to get involved in some controversy of a highly questionable nature. Schlesinger last year published an opus entitled *Crisis of the Old Order,* which covered, among other things, the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, a legal row that occupied most of the nineteen-twenties. In accepted "liberal" fashion, ADAer Schlesinger portrayed Sacco and Vanzetti as simon-pure idealists who were persecuted and killed for their political radicalism.

Omitted from his version was any reference to the fact that they were found with guns and bullets on them and that the bullets corresponded to a peculiar type found in the body of the man for whose death they were tried. Schlesinger's heart-rending account specified only that at the time of their capture they had with them some "innocent and febrile literature" of radical persuasion. For this feat of historiography, Schlesinger was called to task by Harvard alumnus Robert Montgomery, and has since been trying to dig himself out of a deep academic hole.

Further indicative of the ADA historian's political leanings is a "debate" that he cooked up, in May of 1956, with Max Ascoli, in the pages of *The Reporter* magazine — a slick-papered journal of extreme leftist tendency. In that sizzling dispute, Schlesinger showed himself to be a good way to the left of Ascoli — no mean feat — preaching something called the "new liberalism." This program, fuzzily conceived, nevertheless is clear enough to suggest the lengths to which the ADAers would go if they could get an open field. The "new liberalism" is a Government project, apparently involving these steps: 1) insuring that, as the national income rises, the tax burden is raised correspondingly; 2) hanging on to and where possible surpassing the "brilliant success" of the New Deal; 3) on this basis, building a vague, "qualitative liberalism" which, if it means anything at all, carries unpleasant overtones of "togetherness," Governmentally administered.*

In addition to Reuther, Rauh and Schlesinger, all of whom are generally identified with ADA, the organization relies upon a number of influential citizens who advance ADA programs at

* The "new liberalism," Schlesinger avers, "must make the point that our country can grow only if we develop a positive philosophy of the public interest to be asserted against the parochial interests of any special group."

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every chance, but who make little fuss over their ADA connection. In the world of journalism, for instance, the names of Dorothy Schiff (New York *Post*), Palmer Hoyt (Denver *Post*) and Barry Bingham (Louisville *Courier-Journal*) mean something to newspaper readers who may never have heard of ADA, but who nonetheless batten on the straight ADA line every day of their reading lives. Nationwide, the names of the Alsop brothers and Marquis Childs, as well as those of the late Elmer Davis and Thomas L. Stokes, are familiar to newspaper readers and radio listeners to whom the initials ADA would suggest only the American Dental Association. ADA likewise has its big guns ready in the world of magazine-publishing, where *Harper's, The Atlantic, The Nation, New Republic, The Reporter, The New Leader* and *The Progressive* teem with the contributions of deep-thinking ADAers, and where ADA's captive Southerner, Hodding Carter, holds forth periodically in the pages of *Look.* It is practically impossible to pick a "serious" magazine at random off a newsstand without being hit in the eye by the latest ADA brainstorm — an impressive testimonial to ADA's ability to reach those who think they think.

THE MOST CRUCIAL test of ADA's success comes, of course, in the halls of Congress. Keeping a minute record of how all Congressmen and Senators perform, ADA each year issues a legislative scoresheet, breaking down congressional roll calls on what it deems to be "key" issues. *Free Enterprise,* a conservative publication operating out of Chicago, went over the last such scoresheet with a fine-tooth comb. On the nine "key votes," *Free Enterprise* pointed out, 216 House members (out of 435) had five or more pro-ADA votes, whereas only 140 had two or less. In the Senate, on the basis of twelve roll calls, 45 Senators had seven or more pro-ADA votes to their discredit; only 28 had three or less. The total legislative picture was one of a preponderant, if mushy, "liberal" center in both houses, flanked by extremely heavy pro-ADA strength to the left, dwindling anti-ADA strength to the right.

On the same ADA scoresheet, 36 Representatives and nine Senators, all Democrats, voted 100 per cent in favor of ADA. Some of the 100 per cent ADAers in the House: Udall of Arizona; Moss of California; Price of Illinois; Coffin of Maine; McCarthy of Minnesota; Carnahan of Missouri; Green of Pennsylvania; Reuss of Wisconsin. The Senators were Carroll (Colo.), Clark (Pa.), Douglas (Ill.), Hennings (Mo.), Humphrey (Minn.), McNamara (Mich.), Neely (W. Va.), Neuberger (Ore.), Symington (Mo.).

Democratic Senator John F. Kennedy (Mass.) also deserved a 100 per cent rating, but for political reasons was forced to part company with ADA on two roll calls. Kennedy voted with the Southern Democrats on two "civil rights" votes. Otherwise his record was unblemished, earning him ten plus-marks on the ADA scoresheet.

The picture is clear; although some of its "liberal" friends are shedding crocodile tears over its prospects, ADA, outside the South, is taking over the Democratic party. State by state, district by district, it is reaching for, and achieving, total power over the legislative processes of the United States. Unless vigorous political action is taken to halt the ADA drive, America may soon be plunged into the depths of a collectivism from which there is no return.

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HUMAN EVENTS was founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen. It is published weekly at 408 First Street, SE, Washington 3, D. C. and reports from Washington on politics, business, labor and taxes. It is usually published in two parts: a 4-page news section and a 4-page article. $11 per year.

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